/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its [171] extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a fortiori among the Ud Besseb[c] Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 178 592 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the [591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 592 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

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Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [195]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [197]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192]
is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562]
out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361]
in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described...

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239).

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor